1102. h. 2.
3

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

TERMS of PEACE.

K. Great Britain & Ireland - George III.. King.

LONDON:

Printed for G. KEARSLY in Ludgate-Street.

M.DCCL.XIII.

W. Musgrave.

BRITISH MUSEUM

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

TERMS of PEACE.

THE Terms of Peace now publiſhed, fail not to exerciſe the Talents both of its Advocates, and Enemies. For, whilſt Men are inventive, and ſpeak the Language of their Paſſions, or of their private Intereſt, we may conclude, that a Variety of Opinions will neceſſarily prevail.

The worſt Treaty will have its Panegyriſts, and the beſt will not want its Opponents. They who thrive by War, will moſt likely exert their Influence for its Prolongation with the moſt aſſiduous

Art. They will appeal to the Avarice of the Intereſted, to the Hopes of the Pauper, to the Reſentment of the Injured, to the active Ambition of the Warrior; and will remind the glowing Stateſman of Victory and Acquiſition.

They who ſeek to gain by Peace, will animate their Cauſe with ſimilar Addreſs. They will diſplay its diffuſive Bleſſings, will enlarge on ſmiling Plenty; and next, will call to View the ſlaughtering Scenes of hoſtile Rage, of ruined Countries and relentleſs Armies, the Tears of Violation, the Sorrows of the Parent, of the Widow, and of the Orphan, with all the afflicting Train of Evils, the uſual Attendants on deſtructive War.

Some again there are, the Neuters of War or Peace, the mere Expletives of State, yet conſtant to their own partial Ends, who, diſappointed in ſome narrow Purſuit, will not ceaſe to traduce the reigning Meaſures of their Rulers, if they partake not of thoſe Emanations of Power, which an Opinion of their own Conſequence has flattered them with a Right to expect.

Others,

Others, yet more to be lamented, becauſe more abject, are thoſe who diſturb the public Order, who aſperſe or approve ſolely on the Principle of venal Hire. With theſe, no Act or Character is exempt from Slander, provided they can get Employment in ſuch dark and inſidious Work. Sorry am I to ſay of them, as well as of many Dealers in Paragraphs, and Volunteers in Scandal, who are equally uninjured and unprovoked, that their Indecencies are ſuch, as reflect Diſgrace both on our Nation and on our Liberty; that Liberty (which they turn to Libertiniſm) ſo much the Glory and Boaſt of our excellent Conſtitution.

With rapid Courſe vile Defamations fly,
Whilſt noble Actions are but born and die.

This Licentiouſneſs alluded to, is alas, but too notorious! As it is daily evident, that every flippant Pen, every illiterate Scribler, credulous in Extreme, without Foundation, aſſumes the Arbiter, and reviles the State, in Language, as if they only ſtudied how to walk on the Verge of the Law with

Impunity; nay often tranſgreſs its Bounds, at the Expence of every Motive that is ingenuous, decent and liberal.

Hence it muſt of Neceſſity happen, from this Review of Things, that among Numbers, were they even competent Judges, the Eſtimate we put upon the Terms of Peace, or indeed any other Scheme or Act for the public Service, will in ſome Meaſure be precarious, becauſe it will depend upon that fluctuating Good, which we naturally graduate according to our reſpective Prejudices and Situations.

Yet many ſtill remain, I truſt, who urged by Truth alone, firm in that Purpoſe, and nobly warm with generous Patriotiſm, mark with the faithful Rectitude of thinking *Britons*, the Diſguiſe of Art, and ſee with ſteady Eyes the great Object of the Whole; will cenſure human Frailty or unintended Faults with Candor, and applaud, with Impartiality, the Means deſigned for public Happineſs, tho' they prove abortive.

To proceed then with Hopes of imitating ſuch a Diſpoſition for Enquiry, to the Topic of the Treaty, let us recollect a-while the popular Controverſies that have been maintained, concerning the reſpective Value of the Sugar-Iſlands ceded to the *French*; and of *Canada*, with their Uſurpations on the Continent.

Much has been ſaid in Defence of each Cauſe; and indeed ſo ſtrenuous have been the Debates on this Subject, that it would ſeem ſome Argument, that the Whole may partake more of political Speculation than of moral Certainty; otherwiſe it is probable we ſhould more readily have found it aſcertained.

As I confeſs my Abilities not commenſurate to this Determination, I would only preſume to ſay, that the Sugar-Iſlands ceded to the *French*, when conſidered apart, occur to me, to have eminently the Advantage in reſpect to immediate Intereſt; the Continental Ceſſions made to us, the diſtinguiſhed Preference in regard to durable Power and remoter Profit, as may hereafter appear.

If the Queſtion was of a doubtful Nature, when *Canada*, *Cape-Breton* and *Acadia* were only compared to the other, how much heavier muſt be the Scale, when we add to it the unexpected Acquiſition of *Florida* and *Eaſt Louiſiana*? Before and during the War, 'ere *Canada*, *Cape-Breton*, and the bordering Uſurpations were conquered and repoſſeſſed, the Choice of the Alternative, between them and the Sugar-Iſlands, as may be well remembered, was ſcarce a Doubt, ſo high did the Pretenſions of Value run in Favour of the Continent. The Alarm and Danger now over, it is ſunk in Credit, ſeemingly, becauſe it is leſs the Novelty of our Succeſs.

Had we at one Time been told of our preſent Boundaries, even with the aſtoniſhing Triumphs of our Arms, what Infidels ſhould we have ſeemed, if we had not thought ſuch Limits equal to the moſt brilliant Victories?

The Imagination could not have formed an Idea, that the Enemy would ever have been brought to acquieſce in ſuch Conditions. For, by Means of the

Miſ-

Miſſiſſipi, *Canada* itſelf is improved; by this Communication its Peltry, Woods and Lakes, are made more ſubſervient, and the fertile Plains of the *Ohio*, brought nearer the Southern Ocean, riſe now a navigable Colony, which otherwiſe would have remained a mere inland Territory, and a feeble Barrier.

We are now in the Heart of their favourite *Louiſiana*, Maſters of all that mighty Project of uniting by Traffick, the Lakes and the *Ohio*, the Sources of *St. Lawrence* and the *Miſſiſſipi*, and of cloathing unnumbered Nations with our Manufactories; Maſters of all their Forts and Settlements, the Toil of an Age, compleated to our Hands with great Ingenuity, Labour and Expence; Conceſſions of ſuch a Magnitude, as muſt amaze a reflecting Mind, and fill the Wiſe with Delight; nay all who have Capacity to peruſe a Map, muſt be inſpired with the moſt lively Emotions of Pleaſure and Satisfaction.

But behold the Power of Prejudice, even in ſome well-meaning Men. *Louiſiana*, which has been delineated a Land flowing

flowing with Milk and Honey in the Hands of the *French*, is now depreſſed, when the more valuable and fruitful Half is become our own, to ſandy Deſarts, and barren Wilds. —— *Florida* has equally partook of the like pompous Deſcription, and invidious Cenſure. But leaving theſe Obſervers to range the Fields of Fiction, we may with great Probability ſay, that although the *Spaniards* have made but little Uſe of *Florida*, as having leſs Genius for Cultivation than ourſelves; and not in want of Southern Lands, yet we may fairly hope to avail ourſelves both from its Soil and Situation. For it being in the ſame Parallel of Latitude with *Perſia*, may become a Colony to raiſe ſome of the like valuable Commodities of that Kingdom, and particularly Silk, the Culture of which thrives on the Confines of *Florida*, in *Georgia*, where the Mulberry Tree, on whoſe Leaves the Silk-Worms feed, ſo eſſential to this Branch of Trade, flouriſhes in the greateſt Perfection. A Matter of Moment to this Country, as we now chiefly buy that Article of Foreigners; and as the Trade of Silk, from its growing and almoſt general Uſe, is now become, in reſpect to the Hands it employs

employs, next in Conſequence to our Woollen-Manufactory.

Far be it from my Intentions to elevate any Conqueſt or Ceſſion at the Expence of diſparaging another. My Aim is, that of ſincerely repreſenting to the Publick the Value of what they now retain; to make them ſatisfied with their Lot, which ſome may not properly underſtand, and many may intentionally miſinterpret. Not with inflaming Rancour and falſe Inſinuations, wickedly to attempt to diſturb the Minds of my Fellow-Subjects concerning what is unalterably fixed, and what merits our warmeſt Thanks.

The Importance of eſtabliſhing a Right to cut Logwood, may be gathered from the Difficulty of that Negotiation, as well as from a certain Fact during the Dependance of it. For when it was propoſed to M. *Grimaldi*, to aſcertain the Right, he avowed never to ſign a Condition ſo diſhonourable, as nothing could affect him more than ſuch a Stain on his Nation's Honour; which particular Article, ſo greatly mortifying to them, may be judged of, by making the Caſe our

own, as it is almoſt parallel to a Demand made by any Power, to cut Maſts in the Woods of *New-England*.

This Grant, ſo difficult to obtain on the above Account, adds Credit and Luſtre to our late Negotiations, as it is expreſſed in the moſt clear and abſolute Manner; and although the principal Object of the former languid War, was not ſo much as mentioned at the Concluſion, which with the ever memorable Hoſtages not made mutual, and ſo puſillanimouſly ſubmitted to, are Circumſtances as cannot, when reflected upon, but form the moſt ſtriking Contraſt.

No, this Honour was reſerved to a Peace, which will comprehend, in its fulleſt Senſe, the Object of the laſt and the preceding War, and ſeems to have taken in that neceſſary Appendage to every Peace, *viz.* Duration and Stability, intrinſically worth Millions Sterling, as much as human Foreſight can provide for human Viciſſitudes, by ſpecific Limits, and, by adding to Renown and Conqueſts, in the Eyes of envious Nations, the amiable

amiable Praiſe of Magnanimity and Juſtice.

The Enquiry whether higher Terms might not have been granted, is more properly the Province of the great Council of the Nation to diſcuſs, which has already given its full Approbation, than of any Individual; but Charity, as well as common Senſe, impel us to believe, that if ſtill better Conditions could have been obtained, conſiſtent with Equity, Security, and other prudential Views (for it is not our Intereſt to depreſs the *Spaniards* too much) the King and his Miniſtry would gladly have embraced them.

As it is, they have ſeaſonably ſecured to this Country Glory and Reputation, whoſe Impreſſions, even in a political Light, will plead abroad our Cauſe, and aſſert our Privileges. The bare Remembrance of our Arms, will hereafter confer Safety and Honour on Generations to come. All this is ſecured beyond the Power of Enemies, diſaſtrous Storms, or any the Accidents of adverſe Fortune. Our Sun of Victory, in ſhort, could not have ſet in greater Splendor or Serenity, unclouded by Defeat, I wiſh I could have

ſaid, what in foreign Nations would have been the Caſe, unſullied by Murmurs.

In reſpect to the Arrangement of the Iſlands called neutral, and others, whoever will take the Trouble to peruſe them upon a Chart or Map, will find, that if, for Reaſons of Impoſſibility, and indeed of Policy too, we could not, in the Nature of Things, keep all; it muſt be acknowledged, that in the Aſſortment of Territory, the Miniſtry have paid a judicious Attention not to intermix with each other, where it could be well avoided, the Omiſſion of which Regard might have generated many Feuds in Futurity.

Dominico indeed, evidently once a conſiderable Object of the *French*, and capable of much Diſtreſs to them in Time of War, ſtanding like a Centinel over the weſt Part of *Martinico*, and in the Neighbourhood of *Guadaloupe*, happily remains with us, by which we gain a moſt refreſhing Station for our Ships, in the Courſe of Navigation to the *Leeward Iſlands*, in the neceſſary Articles of Wood and Water, Limes, and other Fruit.

It

It is the moſt known and frequented by the *Engliſh*, of any of thoſe Iſlands ſtiled *Neutral*, and is in itſelf ſo valuable an Atchievement, as to need no Addition of Praiſe. The South End lies in the Latitude of 15 Degrees, 14 Minutes; the North End in 15 Degrees, 40 Minutes. So that in Length it is about 26 Miles, but it is not more than ſix over.

There ſtretches through the Iſland one broken Ridge of Hills, with Water running down all its Sides. The largeſt Plain is that of *Roſeau*, towards the S.W. where is the chief Settlement. Prince *Rupert's* Bay is convenient, and ſpacious enough for any Squadron, be it ever ſo great.

The *Indians*, who are numerous here, chiefly poſſeſs the windward Side. The Coloniſts cultivate Coffee, Cotton and Cocoa, of a very good Kind, and like the other Iſlands, it would produce excellent Sugar; which the *French*, who held it only by diſputable Tenure, diſcouraged, on account of making them too eminent in the

ſaid, what in foreign Nations would have been the Caſe, unſullied by Murmurs.

In reſpect to the Arrangement of the Iſlands called neutral, and others, whoever will take the Trouble to peruſe them upon a Chart or Map, will find, that if, for Reaſons of Impoſſibility, and indeed of Policy too, we could not, in the Nature of Things, keep all; it muſt be acknowledged, that in the Aſſortment of Territory, the Miniſtry have paid a judicious Attention not to intermix with each other, where it could be well avoided, the Omiſſion of which Regard might have generated many Feuds in Futurity.

Dominico indeed, evidently once a conſiderable Object of the *French*, and capable of much Diſtreſs to them in Time of War, ſtanding like a Centinel over the weſt Part of *Martinico*, and in the Neighbourhood of *Guadaloupe*, happily remains with us, by which we gain a moſt refreſhing Station for our Ships, in the Courſe of Navigation to the *Leeward Iſlands*, in the neceſſary Articles of Wood and Water, Limes, and other Fruit.

It is the moſt known and frequented by the *Engliſh*, of any of thoſe Iſlands ſtiled *Neutral*, and is in itſelf ſo valuable an Atchievement, as to need no Addition of Praiſe. The South End lies in the Latitude of 15 Degrees, 14 Minutes; the North End in 15 Degrees, 40 Minutes. So that in Length it is about 26 Miles, but it is not more than ſix over.

There ſtretches through the Iſland one broken Ridge of Hills, with Water running down all its Sides. The largeſt Plain is that of *Roſeau*, towards the S.W. where is the chief Settlement. Prince *Rupert's* Bay is convenient, and ſpacious enough for any Squadron, be it ever ſo great.

The *Indians*, who are numerous here, chiefly poſſeſs the windward Side. The Coloniſts cultivate Coffee, Cotton and Cocoa, of a very good Kind, and like the other Iſlands, it would produce excellent Sugar; which the *French*, who held it only by diſputable Tenure, diſcouraged, on account of making them too eminent in the

the View of their Neighbours, till Length of Poſſeſſion had mellowed their Title into Right. Its Poſition makes it a convenient Station for the King's Cruiſers and Privateers in War, to wood and water; and although to the Weſt of the Meridian of *Martinico*, Ships can, for the moſt Part, ſtretch from *Roſeau* Bay, at the S.W. End, and fetch *Martinico*. When poſſeſſed this War by Us, there were 700 Settlers, who bore Arms, and among theſe, ſome of Subſtance.

Tobago, from its Situation near the *Spaniſh* Main, may, when ſettled, like *Jamaica*, become a Key to the *Spaniſh* Treaſure. The Fertility of this Iſland has already drawn the Speculation of many intended Settlers towards it. Superfluous Hands in *Barbadoes* will aſſiſt to occupy it, as many annually go from thence to the *Dutch* Settlements of *Demarara* and *Iſquebo* on the Continent. The Banks of the *Demarara* River are almoſt wholly inhabited by the *Engliſh*, under *Dutch* Government, who buy Plantations, but are laid under very great Reſtrictions. *Tobago* will remedy that Evil,

Evil, which was yearly encreaſing, and draining us of Labour and Slaves to ſettle an Alien Land. Its Coaſt abounds with Fiſh and Turtle, and the Iſland is excellently accommodated with Water, Wood, and ſafe Anchorage.

The next in Progreſſion is *Granada*, whoſe Soil is rich, and contains a very fine Harbour. Its Improvements and Cultivation may be gueſſed at, by its having been inhabited above a Century. But the Value of it, which is proportionably great with any Iſland in the *Weſt-Indies*, has not been conſpicuous to the World, on Account of its Produce being carried to *Martinico*.

The *Granadilloes* are Iſlands ſcattered between *Granado* and *St. Vincent's*, beſides many nameleſs little Ones, are thoſe, called by the *French*, *Iſlet Rond*, *Le Griſon*, *Cariouacou*, *Union*, *Muſtiques*, and *Becouya*, or *Bequia*, which laſt is fertile, has an excellent Bay entirely land-locked, and ſteep to the Shore, called *Privateers Bay*,

Bay, but no Water but what is produced by digging the Sand, which is brackiſh.

St. Vincent may be made a noble Sugar Iſland, as there are fine Plains, capable of producing abundant Crops. Its chief Commodities at preſent are Coffee, Cotton, Cocoa and Tobacco, the Culture of which laſt might be ſuppreſſed, as our Continental Colonies ſupply us amply with that Article.

During the laſt War, there was a Cuſtom-Houſe, where every thing was regularly entered, and paid Duty to the *French* King. It is about twenty-five Miles South of *St. Lucia*, of a circular Form, well watered and wooded, has a *good Harbour*, and rich Soil, in which Sugar-Cane flouriſhes exceedingly. The *Caribbee-Indians* are here more numerous than at *Tobago*.

From this Sketch, inconſiderable as it is, for more could not come within due Compaſs, it is apparent there has been Reſpect ſhewn to the Propriety of Partition. As by adopting Iſlands lying

neareſt together, not only many Inconveniences are avoided, but they more effectually afford each other mutual Support. In Peace, the reciprocal Offices of Friendſhip and Trade are better carried on, and in War they form a ſtronger Phalanx to reſiſt and annoy the Enemy.

Iſlands have alſo their Advantages that are ſmall. In this Caſe alſo we have the Preheminence of Numbers. The large Iſland of *Hiſpaniola* would encreaſe in Value, even under the ſame Superficies, was it divided into many inſular Parts, becauſe it is nearer Navigation, and the Length of Carriage of their Commodities, renders Plantations diſtant from the Sea, of infinitely leſs Value. Hence we erroneouſly calculate the Capacity and Trade of Iſlands in the *Weſt-Indies*, if we judge all together from the Proportion of their Size.

But relative to the Growth of Sugar-Canes, and other Articles of that Climate, it is admitted by Judges, that even thoſe who poſſeſs the leaſt Land of the three late belligerant Powers, have more Soil

than ever can be cultivated in that Way. Hence the Foundation of our Jealouſies is not in Reality ſo great as our Imaginations paint it, ſince *Jamaica* alone could ſupply all *Europe* with Sugar, was it cultivated throughout its Surface.

It might be looked upon as a ſiniſter Deſign, which the Owner of theſe Sentiments firmly diſavows, if in this Place the Mention of *St. Lucia*, ſo much the Idol of ſome worthy and ſenſible Perſons, had been omitted.

Numerous as our Politicians are, moſt ſeem to agree, that if *St. Lucia* and the Fiſhery had been excepted by Us, that then the Peace would have been uncontrovertible in every Point. And they equally unite in confining whatever is worthy Diſpute to *America* alone, on which therefore our Animadverſions principally turn.

St. Lucia, convenient as it might have been from its Poſition, its Harbour, and being a Place of Arms in Time of War, is yet no fatal Deficiency. However, the ſame

ſame Arguments which plead for our Enjoyment of it, plead as powerfully for the unalterable Attachment of the *French* to it. Commercially conſidered, as to Produce, it is no capital Object, becauſe it is ſmall, and we have already Iſlands enough; in reſpect to its Utility in War, the Reduction of it would be eaſily effected, did we either find it neceſſary to diſlodge the Enemy, as Annoyers of our Trade, or to make it a Port of Arms, which *Dominico* or *Granada* would for ſo temporary a Seaſon ſupply, if *Antigua*, our preſent Harbour and Magazine did not anſwer that Purpoſe. If we coped with *France* before, we are ſurely more able now, with more Trade and Territory made at their Expence.

In regard to Hurricanes, though dreadful Viſitations, they rarely happen, and their returning Times, as to the Seaſon of the Year, are nearly known, and therefore provided againſt. And let the long Period we have carried on our Trade to the *Weſt-Indies*, ſuffice to ſay, that St. *Lucia* is not abſolutely eſſential, notwithſtanding the Opinion of ſome,

and the Offence it has given others, whoſe Zeal and good Wiſhes have carried them to hope for Things in our late Negotiations beyond the Bounds of human Attainment.

And here let it not be unworthy Remark, that our new-acquired Iſlands before-mentioned, are more without the Reach of theſe raging Blaſts than thoſe to leeward, which Circumſtance undoubtedly aggrandizes their Value.

Little, I doubt, do our Diſputants cloſely conſider the perplexing Difficulties of ſuch a public Negotiation as that of Peace. They perhaps make not ſufficient Allowance for the interfering Claims and Syſtems of Neutral Powers, National Expectations for private Intereſt, for obdurate Pride and lurking Revenge, for ſubtle Intrigue, the Application of every Art and Engine to counteract the beſt concerted Meaſures; and laſtly, our own Diſability for continuing a War ſo tremendouſly expenſive to this Country.—Indemnification, Reſtitution,

tion, Compenſation, we know are Terms not always eaſily apprehended or adjuſted between Man and Man; but, when applied to powerful and contending States, are ſtill leſs pliable and ductile.

Having paſſed in Subſtance ſome of the moſt controverted Parts of the Preliminaries, let us ſtop a while at the Fiſhery, declining thoſe Articles, for Brevity's Sake, againſt which no great Altercations ariſe. The Fiſhery then, the *ſine qua non* of the *French*, or the unalterable Point of their Demand, has been apparently calculated rather to amuſe their Subjects, than avail the State, as it is more plauſible than ſolid, becauſe fettered with very material Strictures. The more profitable Parts of the Fiſhery, thoſe I mean intended for a vendible Commodity in foreign Markets, ſeem not the Object of their Aim, from the Nature of the Fiſh in the curing Part; and the comparative Extent of their Limits will ever keep them below any Competition in Reſpect to their Rivalſhip with us.—Our late Acquiſitions of Coaſt only about the Iſland of St. *John's* in the Gulph of St. *Lawrence*,

rence, and of *Gaſpy*, ſmall as they ſeem, are equivalent in Conſequence to the Fiſhery of the *French*. The Diſtance too, they are to keep from our Shores, which if they tranſgreſs, are liable to Confiſcation, is ſuch an Embargo on the Grant, as muſt render it of ſmall Value. Again, the Fogs ſo prevalent in the Country, which may ſubject them to Miſtakes, will not be our Detriment, but their own.

There is one Article more of new Importance to us, in which we only can partake; the Whale-Fiſhery, but of late carried on in the Gulph, and at the Mouth, of St. *Lawrence* to very beneficial Purpoſes.

In the Name of ſober Senſe, what is it the *French* have got by this Ceſſion? Even no more than the Shell of the Nut, the Shadow of a Fiſhery, which can eaſily be cancelled when Provocations juſtify us. They who ſee by this Grant, reſtrained as it is, future Navies ariſe to deſtroy our own, may ſpeak coercively to

to our Paſſions, but ſurely cannot convince our Reaſon.

The Loſs of *Senegal* to the *French* on the Coaſt of *Guinea*, renders *Goree* a Ceſſion of a very inferior Kind. The Natives do not allow the *Europeans* any Erections on the Main Land oppoſite *Goree*, ſo that this Territory is confined to a very rocky and ſandy little Iſland, which, by its Situation againſt the Continent, forms a capacious Bay of deep Water to the Shores of the Iſland, in which we can ſafely anchor without Gun-ſhot, and always puts it in our Power to take *Goree*, or put what Strictures we pleaſe upon its Trade, which conſiſts only of Slaves, and that in no competent Degree. Hence no Part on the Coaſt already our own, could have been ſubſtituted with equal Convenience and Advantage to ourſelves. The *French* knew its Inſignificance without *Senegal*, and labour-ed at having any other Place aſſigned them, as it was ſo limited in its Produce, and ſo ſuſceptible of Controul, which *Senegal* is not.

The

The River *Senegal*, whoſe amazing Length of Courſe, gives us already thoſe valuable Articles of Gold, Ivory, Slaves and Gum-*Senega*, with the Proſpect of a great Increaſe, can well ſupport itſelf, and is known to be totally independent of *Goree*, notwithſtanding the many Inſinuations to the contrary, ſo induſtriouſly propagated.

If we turn our Eyes to *India*, we ſee our Affairs there, wear the moſt pleaſing Aſpect; the Preliminaries expreſs, "To reſtore to *France* ſuch Comptoirs [Factories] as they had in the Year 1749, in the *Condition* in which they now are; and farther, to erect no Fortifications, or keep any Troops in *Bengal*." — A State attended only with a Name, with much preſent Expence if they attempt a Renewal of their Company, and ſcarce a Chance of Benefit for Centuries to come. If the Trade before the War was a loſing one, and according to their own Authors of Credit it was, what muſt be the Caſe when they have every Thing to begin *de novo*, againſt a Rival already eſtabliſhed Maſters of that Commerce,

of

of the Country, and of the Minds of the Natives.

Pondicherry, that imperious Fortreſs of the *French*, eraſed, has, with their other Defeats, eraſed alſo their Credit. The Notions of Power operate no-where ſo indelibly as among the People of the Eaſt, and therefore muſt have their conſequential Effects.

Behold the Continent of *America*, and there we ſhall find we have acquired ſufficient Surface; and though ſome of it has been alledged to be a ſandy Deſart, yet, admitting the Suggeſtion, there is Fertility enough for any Superfluity of Men which may ariſe from other Parts for Ages without end. To have proceeded would have been Phrenzy. The Poſſeſſion of *South America* would be our Bane; which, could a Wiſh accompliſh, we ought not to heſitate, in a public Capacity, to decline. Farther Southward, the Climate grows intenſe, more deſtructive of Vegetation, and more pregnant with every fatal Diſeaſe. The

Gems, the Gold and Silver of *Mexico*, *Peru* and *Brazil*, may be glittering Baits to captivate Ambition, or allure Rapacity; but who wants to be informed that theſe Riches, made current, are already our own, without the Fervor of their Suns, by the Wages of honeſt Induſtry, and the Price of our ſtaple Commodities; ſo long as we keep entire our preſent Poſſeſſions, the Balance of Power and of Commerce, which the Treaty of 1762 has extended and *ſecured*. Let us indulge ourſelves with a Moment's Amuſement, and view the Kings who ſplendidly call themſelves the Sovereigns of theſe Countries, and then determine, if they are not leſs glorious and powerful than our own Monarch; or if their Subjects are not leſs happy than ourſelves. See them ſlothful, wretched and enervated; their Parent-Country a Deſart, their Colonies in a manner a Sepulchre. In ſhort, to them, ſuch diſtant Empire, and ſo circumſtanced, is like to expanded Metal, exchanging ſolid Subſtance for gaudy Splendor. In Part, ſo far may be applicable to *France*, in reſpect to that Portion of *Louiſiana*, on the *Weſt* Side of the

the *Miſſiſſipi*, which they ſtipulate to retain, a Territory that gives them no Command of Power, and ſeemingly promiſes not much Profit, as neither Mines nor other valuable Diſcoveries have yet been made; and, if we may gueſs from its preſent languid State, and the little Progreſs in Improvements ſince they occupied it, we may reaſonably conjecture, that their Rivalſhip from that Quarter will give us little Diſturbance. It is Puſillanimity to fear it, eſpecially if we conſider the vaſt Diſproportion of Strength, where we out-number them as Fifty to one.—On the Contrary, it may rather be expected, when, in the Courſe of a few Years, we become eſtabliſhed in our New World, when the Minds of our new Subjects (at preſent perhaps a little warped by Prejudices infuſed by the *French*) become conciliated to our Mode of Government and our Liberty; then, I ſay, it is ſcarce dubious, but that our *America*, containing the Subjects of one Power, calculated to breed Men robuſt in Conſtitution, and inured to Hardſhips, muſt be ſuperior in Strength to the Southern Parts of the Continent, broken

in upon by the *French* *, *Spaniards*, *Dutch*, *Portugueſe*, and Enemies of unſubmitting *Indians*, which tend farther to disjoin theſe already divided Intereſts. Little then muſt be the Danger from the *French*, as now limited to Weſtern *Louiſiana*, almoſt without Ports, ſo unfavourable to Population, and under the near Inſpection of a maritime Power, which could ſubject their Coaſt by the ſingle Appearance of a trifling Part of their Navy.

For my own Part, notwithſtanding the characteriſtic Proverb, "Give a *Frenchman* Land, he conſtructs a Fort; give a *Spaniard* Land, he builds a Church," I am inclined to think, that though the *Spaniard* is more the paſſive

---

* The *French* and *Dutch*, particularly the laſt, have ſeveral Settlements on the Coaſt of *Guiana*, a Province in *South-America*. The *Portugueſe* have the *Brazils*, and the *Muſquito Indians* inhabit the Shores of *Honduras* and *Campeachy*.

Neighbour, and of a leſs incroaching Diſpoſition, yet in ſome Inſtances, as in this before us, it may be ultimately more to our Intereſt, to have that Country occupied by the *French*, in Point of giving Umbrage to the *Spaniards*, who, as Individuals, bear cordial Enmity to each other; as *France* hath ever made them more the Dupes of its Politics, than the Subject of their Reſpect or Care, and would therefore proportionably abate the Jealouſy between *Spain* and *Britain*, more naturally connected by Ties of mutual Intereſt.

To make us ſtill more ſenſible, and ſatisfied with the Happineſs of our preſent Peace; is it no Advantage to the Nation, no Comfort to a patriotic Mind, that in this Situation of Things, we have the unmoleſted Monopoly of many Articles of Trade, in which the *French*, *Spaniards*, and many other Nations of Conſequence, are for ever excluded? I mean our Lumber, Materials for Cooperage and Proviſions, on which we ſet our own Value; our Furs, and many naval Stores, with which *North-America* now begins

begins to emulate the Countries of the *Baltic*.

How much the Enemy once ſought to endanger theſe Bleſſings and Emoluments, they ſo well underſtood, their formidable Power, their Bulwarks, their extended Chain of Forts like Walls of Circumvallation, which had well nigh environed and overwhelmed us, fully evince.

Such Dangers the Miniſtry have in their Wiſdom effectually removed. They have for ever turned the aſſailing Weapons upon the Aggreſſors, ſhould they again provoke; for it is in theſe Parts, this human Hive, not in the ſultry Tropics, that Power is derived to form our Battles, and maintain our Rights.

Should the Enemy preſume, in future, to diſturb us in our legal Poſſeſſions in any Quarter of the Globe, with what Facility may we pour Vengeance upon them, when our *American* Continent conveniently placed, nay more, qualified alone to controul the Iſlands of the *Weſt-*

Indies;

Indies, is ready to co-operate with the Mother-Country, to chaſtiſe an Inſult? The Impartial ſurely cannot reflect upon this Truth, without acknowledging its Force, and that by demanding Continental Ceſſions, as we could not retain all, they have prudently begun at the right End, were we even romantic enough to be inſpired with the Tenets of the *Macedonian* Hero.—So much ſuperior is the Chance of our Continent ſubduing their Iſlands, ſhould ſuch a Conteſt ariſe, than that our Colonies ſhould become ſubſervient to their inſular Poſſeſſions.

The Wiſhes of this Country have ever been to deprive the *French* of a Port in the Weſtern Continent. To this End our Policy has been immemorially directed. The Stride now made has nearly compleated thoſe darling Views. The weak Barrier of *Georgia*, and of our late Southern Settlements, are now made ſtrong, not only by removing troubleſome Neighbours in cloſe Contiguity, at a greater Diſtance, but by occupying their ſtrongeſt Fortifications and Ports, which will command a conſiderable Part of the

Spaniſh

Spaniſh Trade in War, and protect our own, as we have, by this Step, obtained a Security, never before enjoyed, of traverſing the Great Gulph of *Mexico*. Let us alſo add, as one Advantage not inconſiderable, that the Towns and Territories of St. *Matthew*, St. *Mark*, *Auguſtin*, *Penſacola*, *Mobille*, *Florida*, and *Eaſt Louiſiana*, ceded to us, have not been in our Memories the Theatre of war, (one Place excepted) conſequently theſe Conqueſts, from our Ignorance of the Places, would have been more difficult, whereas thoſe we have returned them, are, with their Bays, Harbours, Rivers, Watering-Places, Paſſes, Roads and Fortifications, as exactly taken as the correcteſt Surveys could admit of, a Circumſtance of infinite Moment to avert a War, and to awe them into a Continuance of good Behaviour. In this Light alſo, the Partition has its comparative Value; for even admitting the Sugar-Iſlands rendered more temporary Profit, as has been obſerved, the other, of which we only as yet ſee its worſt Side, is likely to be made more laſting, as more evidently founded on Principles of Concord and Stability. Beſides,

ſides, *France*, over whom we moſt watch, is certainly, from the Nature of our Power, more vulnerable in her Iſlands, than elſewhere.——

The Fiſhery likewiſe, ſo magnified, and made ſo much the Subject of Declamation, is enjoyed by them under ſuch humiliating and nerveleſs Conditions, that the Annihilation of it, ſhould the Enemy force us to ſuch Extremities, is not the Week's Work of a ſingle Squadron. Thoſe who can ſee, in the little Iſlands of *Miquelon* and St. *Peter's*, future *Dunkirks* for Trade and Annoyance, may poſſibly mean well, and their Suſpicions may ariſe from a laudable Love of their Country; but by what Charm this is to be accompliſhed, we are not acquainted. As well might they believe, for it is equally prepoſterous, that the Fogs of the Climate will be the Allotment of the *Engliſh*, whilſt Serenity and Sunſhine will be the propitious Portion of the *French*. Apprehenſions ſo void of Foundation, and ſo indiſcriminately publiſhed, ſerve, like many others, only to ſow Ran-

cour, and propagate Diſcontent, to the manifeſt Injury of the State and of Individuals, againſt whom, oftner than Meaſures, ſuch boiſterous Clamours are levelled. But there is ſtill more; theſe rocky Fragments of *Miquelon* and St. *Peter*'s have alſo been converted into *Monte Chriſties**, terrible Aſylums of illicit Traffic to our vaſt Continent. Did we find that *Iſle-Royale*, when in Poſſeſſion of the *French*, a Fortreſs of Strength, and better calculated for illicit Trade, was adapted to this Purpoſe? There is neither the Temptation on our Part, nor the Abilities on theirs, as at *Monte Chriſtie*; as well might they attempt to import Spices from *Labradore*, as avail themſelves in

---

* *Monte Chriſtie* is a Port in the *Spaniſh* Part of *Hiſpaniola*, where ſome of our *North-Americans*, in War eſpecially, carry on a ſecret Trade with the Inhabitants of the Iſland for Proviſions, Pipe-Staves, and other Kinds of Lumber; and although eſteemed contraband, is ſaid to be very beneficial to *Britain*, as the Gain centers with us.

St.

St. *Peter's* and *Miquelon* of Profit from our Coaſt, to any Degree of Conſequence, in Exchange for their Commodities.

It has likewiſe, with equal Penetration, been obſerved, by a Writer, That the Poſition of the above Iſlands is dangerous in reſpect of being ſituated near *St. John's*, our ſtrongeſt Fort on the Iſland of *Newfoundland*; but it is plain he neither knew their Situation, nor had he conſulted his Map. *St. John's* lies on the Eaſt Side, and the Iſlands in Queſtion at Two hundred Miles Diſtance on the South Side of *Newfoundland*. And indeed had his Geographical Obſervation been a Fact, his Reaſon would have reverted upon himſelf; for aſſuredly the Danger is leſs on our Account, in proportion to the Strength we have near them.

This minute Miſtake would not have deſerved a Recital, much leſs a Confutation, had it not been to ſhew the Proclivity of ſome to Error and Miſrepreſentation. Falſhoods we daily ſee, whoſe

Authors, when they tend to Right, are cold and inſipid, when they deviate towards Wrong, they are rapid and extravagant. But there ever did exiſt a Set of gloomy Politicians, who may be ſaid to ſeek for Sorrow, and reliſh truly no Succeſs.

Indeed, Opinion, the very Spirit of Liberty, ſhould be free as Air, it is our Birth-right, and may the ineſtimable Priviledge long continue; but at the ſame Time, let us be honeſt and judicious in its Uſe; at leaſt, let decent and deliberate Argument be our Guide, ſo as to behave in our Controverſies with that Civility and Decorum becoming Perſons not actuated by Rage or Party. Let us ſeek to convince, rather than vilify; and when we give our Antagoniſts the Fall, let it be like the Fall of *Cæſar*, graceful and modeſt, but not the Stab of *Brutus*. In ſhort, let us attack as we ſhould like to be attacked. Good Manners is expected by all throughout Community; it is the Cement of Intercourſe, and the Bond of Peace. Why then ſhould Caſuiſts depart from

from ſo generous a Point, whether in Converſation or in Print, when probably the Baſis of the Diſpute is but political Conjecture, or oftentimes at beſt, unintereſting Certainty? The Name of Author carries with it the Idea of Reſpect and Importance; but how ſhrink they from the Dignity of that Character, who meanly deſcend to mix Sentiments and Expreſſions with the loweſt of the vulgar Herd?

Men who write, ſhould be ſuppoſed benevolent beyond the common Level. Tinctured with Education in a Land like ours, they ſhould ſoar above Petulance, and become Defenders, by Example, of the Liberty of that Preſs, which they ſo often endanger by their Productions. A Liberty which they talk of, but, by their Abuſe, ſeem not thoroughly to underſtand.

What Pity is it, that ſo valuable an Inſtrument of the publick Health, as the Preſs, ſhould be ſo flagrantly proſtituted. It is Bane or Antidote, as it is differently applied; a Poignard in the Hand of the Aſſaſſin,

Aſſaſſin, or a Shield in the Cauſe of Virtue. When I conſider the Utility of the Art of Printing, I am enraptured with the Diſcovery. To it we owe our Inſtruction and our greateſt Pleaſure; nay, there have been Periods, when Slavery itſelf has fallen beneath its literary Power; and may it ever ſtand up the Patron of the Public, in Hours of general Danger! May it be the Beacon to ſpread the juſt Alarm with Reſpect and Duty, whenever the uſual Avenues of the Royal Ear are ſhut to humble Remonſtrances, or wholeſome Expoſtulation! Happy would it be, were theſe the uniform Effects, when ſuch Occaſions offer, but Thanks to Heaven, ſuch Occaſions do not exiſt. We are a happy People, knew we our own Felicity; happy in Power, in Reputation, in buxom Plenty, and in Peace. —A Peace, which, to ſum up all, is the beſt theſe Kingdoms ever experienced, is adequate to our Conqueſts (pauſe not my Reader, becauſe it has been faſhionable with ſome to think otherwiſe, for I ſay adequate) if we conſider it liberally in all its Circumſtances, and not by Parts,

both

both in reſpect to the Time the Negotiation for the Preliminaries commenced when the Preſumption of our Succeſs at the *Havanna* was againſt us, and the great Occaſion of Frugality to a State, diminiſhed in Men, and abſorbed in Debt, thus critically obviating Millions of Expence in Preparations for another Compaign. Beſides, let us add, the Glory of ſaving the Kingdom of *Portugal*, for which too our own Honour and Intereſt were ſo eſſentially concerned; the reſtoring captive Towns to our Allies, who virtually aſſiſted our Conqueſts; the Acquiſition of Empire beyond all former Conception, and that ſo nobly and intelligibly bounded, ſo advantageouſly and commodiouſly connected, that neither Diſpute nor Inconvenience can now ariſe from Neighbours, ever ſo ambitious and interprizing. A Conſideration which muſt be admitted of ſome Importance, when we reflect, that the preſent War was, and indeed moſt which Hiſtory affords, have been produced from a Want of proper and deciſive Definitions of Territory, which can only make a Peace permanent.

hent. Henceforward, we may firmly rely, that Tranquillity will ſpread her Bleſſings for a Perpetuity over thoſe long diſturbed Realms. The *Indian*, inſtigated by the *French* to Acts of horrid Cruelty, will now become an uſeful Subject. He will now neglect his Scalping-Knife, and bury his Hatchet, for the placid Scenes of Peace; his War the Chace, his Wiſh alone Allegiance.

To take a Survey of the Whole, let us a Moment indulge ourſelves in the pleaſing Proſpect of a well-conditioned Domain, circumſcribed by the moſt legible Characters, and happy from Continuity and other peculiar Circumſtances within. Let us figure to ourſelves a Country, fortified in Front by the Ocean (on which we reign the acknowledged Sovereigns) aided againſt an Enemy by all the natural and artificial Difficulties of the Coaſt, and with the naval Power of *Great-Britain*. Again ſecured by undiſcovered Wilds, the poſſible Work of future Ages to explore, by the impregnable *Pole*, and by the copious Waters

of

of the *Miſſiſſipi*, within which Barriers lie ample Regions, even ſo ſuperior in Computation to the Scale of Miles, that Geometricians meaſure them only by Degrees of the Earth's terraqueous Surface; Regions, in which are included every Climate and Soil, conſequently capable of every valuable Production. Rich in numerous navigable Lakes and Rivers, replete with Fiſh, and joining us in Amity and Intercourſe with unnumbered Tribes; in Plains, Hills and Woods, ſtocked with all the Variety of Animals, Vegetables and Foſſils, that can gratify Man, or exalt our Commerce.

Such, I ſay, is not an ideal Portrait, for ſuch exactly is that *America* we now ſecurely poſſeſs, rich in Towns and Cities, riſing Colonies, and every other flouriſhing Circumſtance of Population, Trade and Induſtry, the certain Means of Power and of Opulence. But this is not all, even other Quarters of the Globe have been made, by this Peace, to confeſs us their mighty Owners. We reap not only half *America*, but extend our

Sway from our own *Senegal*, whoſe Springs ariſe in the very Boſom of *Afric*, to tributary *Ganges*, in more diſtant *Aſia*.

Had other Nations theſe Advantages, theſe independent Reſources, how would they approve themſelves favoured of Heaven! Or, to ſpeak in other Terms, was any different Power, the *French*, in particular, inveſted with ſuch Dominions, how great would be our Envy! What alarming Apprehenſions of Danger ſhould we not entertain! Hold but this Mirror up to our Judgment, and we ſhall be more able to ſee the Truth. Through this Glaſs, her fair Proportions will be more juſtly reflected, than if viewed only through the diſtorting Medium of our Pride and Vanity.

With Reaſon then, may we pronounce ourſelves much benefited and improved, great in Commerce, revered abroad, and powerful at home. As ſuch therefore is in Reality our State, let us not blaſt the Laurels of this glorious War, by wanton

and

and unjuſt Reflections on a Peace: Let us not ſlight the Diſpenſations of Providence, and the Fruits of our Arms, by ungrateful Repinings and ungenerous Sarcaſms. No, rather let us firſt approach the Supreme of all with fervent Gratitude for the Bleſſings he has ſhowered upon us, and of late beſtowed, in ending the dire Calamities of War; next, expreſs our Sentiments of Reſpect to thoſe, who merit well in giving Reſt to panting Nations, by boldly ſtanding forth our Champions in the arduous Taſk of Peace; a Taſk, in which (although a miniſtring Angel could not ſatisfy all) they have ſucceeded, in the Opinion of the Conſcientious and Diſpaſſionate, beyond Expectation.

In regard to Conſtructions of a more narrow Kind, put upon ſeveral Articles in the Preliminaries of Peace, by implied Defects, and equivocal Expreſſions, we may reſt aſſured, that ſuch Objections as are ſignificant, will be fully obviated in the general Treaty. But it muſt remain a Truth, that moſt of thoſe, which have been exhibited to the

Public, appear to be of ſuch a trifling Nature, or are in themſelves ſo very crude, as to need no Comment or Illuſtration. It ought alſo to be remembered, that Preliminaries are but the Arguments of the Work, the Foundation as it were only of the Fabrick, which is yet to compleat. Some Criticiſms, indeed, introduced through the Channels of our News-Papers, and other Publications, have, no Doubt, been pertinent, and although the Fears may have been needleſs, they are yet commendable, becauſe delivered with that Sobriety and Deference, the Companions of Merit, which ſhew the Owners influenced by Reaſons only of public Attachment. Theſe, it is hoped, will be amply gratified, as there is little Queſtion to be made, but the cleareſt Words, and moſt explicit Declarations, will be attended to in the Treaty. So much may ſuffice to wipe off ſome Impreſſions, which may have been tranſiently made on feeble Minds, by the intemperate Sallies of Folly and Inconſiſtency.

Before

Before I diſmiſs theſe Reflections, permit me to add a few miſcellaneous Thoughts, which appear to me perhaps in a different Point of View, from what it may affect many others.

In reſpect to our Acquiſitions, I think it would be highly adviſeable to keep a reſpectable Force at *Mobille*, in its Neighbourhood, and on the Banks of the *Miſſiſſipi*, as high as the River *Ohio*, and occaſionally higher, as Times and Neceſſity may ſolicit. Such an Eſtabliſhment will tend to awe the *French*, and keep the *Indians* in cloſer Subjection, will encourage our Settlers, when they find themſelves protected, and aſſiſt Population, as the Soldiers, by marrying, will, with their Offspring, become Coloniſts. In ſhort, to be ſtrongly defended without by our military Force, and rely more for Protection at home on our Navy and Militia, which are now ſo excellently trained, ſeems to be the natural and true Policy of this Country of Freedom.

In

In reſpect to *Minorca*, the Obſerver may probably be more ſingular; ſince he conceives, that although an Iſland affording an Harbour inferior to none in *Europe*, yet the Expence is by no Means adequate to its Uſe. In Peace it is a mere dead Weight, and its Maintenance a grievous Burden, unleſs we contract the too extenſive Fortreſs of *St. Philip's*, which requires many Regiments to man it, and ſubſtitute a Part only of the Works to execute the Purpoſe of commanding the Harbour, in which Caſe it might be put on ſuch an eaſy Footing, as the Inhabitants might be near enabled to bear the Expence, together with the little Caſtle at *Port Fernelles*, and a trifling Garriſon at *Citadella*.

In War, unleſs by Chance we are engaged in the Meaſures of *Italy*, and obliged to dwell with our Ships on that Coaſt, *Minorca* is abſolutely detrimental, as the Situation of it is ſo retired from every Intention of watching the Enemy; and let Experience determine, if in the War

War before this, any of the Enemies Fleets were once intercepted, ſo that the Uſe derived to us from the Proſpect merely of an *Italian* War alone, is apparently ſo diſtant a Contingence, as induces me to think we over-rate its Value.

By having this Harbour, *Gibraltar*, the natural Paſs of the Ocean to watch and embarraſs the Enemy, is leſs attended to, whoſe great Advantages of Situation have been proved this War to a Demonſtration, inſomuch that one may venture to pronounce, had *Minorca* been ours, we ſhould ſcarce have boaſted of the naval Victories of Admirals *Boſcawen*, *Oſborne*, and others. —— But there is ſome Reaſon to expect, that Reforms concerning *Minorca* are, with many others of high Importance to the Welfare of this Country, already under proper Conſideration.

Another Suggeſtion ariſes of no ſmall Moment, that by attending more to *Gibraltar*, a great Expence in Freight for naval

naval Stores will be ſaved, on account of its being nearer *England*, and leſs Stores will alſo be conſumed, as the Ships will frequently be careened at home, with the multiplied Advantages of their greater Preſervation, of Profit to our Country, and Annoyance to the Enemy; in War by traverſing the grand Lines of Navigation in their Paſſage through the *Atlantic Ocean* in their foreign and homeward-bound Paſſages.

It has been urged as one Inducement to keep *Minorca*, that by its Means we command more the Reſpect of the *Barbary* States. But ſhould this have Weight, we may keep it in a Manner to anſwer every Purpoſe of Convenience, without its enormous Expence; and what aggravates the Conſideration, is, that the greateſt Part of the Government's Money, for the Subſiſtence of our Troops, *&c.* centers at *Marſeilles*, as it is well known the Shops of *Mahon*, *Cittadella*, and *Allyore*, are ſupplied almoſt ſolely with Commodities, in Time of Peace, from the *South* of *France*.

But

But with Regard to the *Barbary* States, as *Corſairs*, let me aſk, if they would not ſtill court us more for the Aſylum of *Gibraltar*, if *Minorca* was in the Hands of the *Spaniards*? becauſe their Difficulties would be encreaſed, and *Gibraltar* become to them a friendly Port, ſtill more neceſſary and precious.—However, it is not a Queſtion, but that in our Treaty we ſhould inſiſt upon its Reſtitution. The Honour of our Nation would have been too much ſacrificed to have neglected it. All I contend for is, that its Utility ſeems by no Means to preponderate its late Expence, and that we ought in Prudence, either to retain it in a leſs expenſive State, or ſeek to exchange it with *Spain* for ſomething more advantageous, which might reciprocally ſatisfy both Powers.

Did the Author think it of any Moment to the Public to declare himſelf farther on this Subject, he could affirm, that War is his Harveſt, but that his voluntary Pen, like his Heart, rejects all

ſordid and partial Views. He means alone to ſpeak the Language of Probity and of Candour, and not to diſturb his Country's Quiet with Duplicity and Cavil, unleſs he could be uſeful to rectify the Treaty ſo as to ſuit every Palate; in which Senſe, did not the Work appear impracticable, all our Dictates would arrive too late.

BRITISH MUSEUM

FINIS.